POLITICAL SPECULATIONS;

OR,

An ATTEMPT to discover the CAUSES

OF THE

DEARNESS OF PROVISIONS,

AND

HIGH PRICE OF LABOUR,

IN

ENGLAND:

WITH

Some HINTS for remedying those EVILS.

PART the SECOND.

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Political Speculations, &c.

Addition to SECT. VII.

Exportation and diſtilling of grain.

I CAN ſuppoſe that ſome centuries ago, in the infancy of trade and manufactures, and when the number of inhabitants in this kingdom were not above half as many as they are now, it might have been good policy in our anceſtors to encourage an exportation of their ſuperfluous grain, when a very little portion of the land in tillage was more than ſufficient to feed the ſmall number of people in thoſe days. But now it ſhould be our policy to contrive, that our corn

ſhould be ſpent at home, in feeding a greater number of manufacturers, whoſe wares, being exported, will bring us back, probably, ten times the price of the raw corn.

But if government was to take no care of this matter, it might happen, in a few years, that farmers. diſtillers, and exporters, might raiſe conſiderable fortunes, whilſt many other trades would decline, and the country inſenſibly depopulate; I ſay, inſenſibly; becauſe, as the conſumption made by the diſtillery would keep up the price of grain, we ſhould not perceive the decreaſe of the people, eſpecially as the declenſion of manufactures would not immediately point it out; but, on the contrary, ſhew that they had ſtill hands to ſpare.

In SECT. V. it was proved, that the ten perſons neceſſary for the occupation of two plow-lands (or two hundred acres), together with eight horſes, required for their

their maintenance, in bread, meat, beer, milk and garden-ſtuff, only about half a plow-land (or fifty-one acres); and in caſe ten oxen were ſubſtituted in the room of the eight horſes, (conſidering that the oxen were ultimately deſigned for food,) we computed that (only forty-three acres or) little more than four-tenths of a plow-land would be required for the ſame purpoſe.

Now as theſe ten perſons and ten oxen perform all the work of two plow-lands, the produce of all the reſt of theſe two plow-lands remains to feed, in the ſame proportion, as many other people as the reſidue of the land will extend to:—— for inſtance; the ten perſons, excluſive of the horſes or oxen, were fed on the produce of (twenty-ſeven acres, or) twenty-ſeven hundredths of a plow-land, that is, little more than a quarter of a plow-land; and the wool and hides of the cattle deſtined for their food, would be much more than ſufficient for the unmanufactured materials of their cloathing.

Therefore, at the ſame rate, fifty-ſix other perſons, at leaſt, may be maintained on the remaining produce of theſe two plow-lands, and ſtill land enough to ſpare for the maintenance of two horſes for other uſes independant of the farm.

Let us now conſider, what ſort of perſons theſe ſixty-ſix people, fed by theſe two plow-lands, ſhould probably be.

	N° of perſons.
We have already ſuppoſed the ten tillers to be 6 men, 2 women, and two boys.	10
Then, as the value of the whole farm is but 120 l. a year, we cannot ſuppoſe more, on that account, than a gentleman farmer, his wife, two children, two maids, and one man ſervant.	7

One

	N° of perſons.
One maſter manufacturer, his wife, two children, two maids, and one man ſervant.	7
One ſeventh part of the 'ſquire's family, or of any gentleman living idly in the pariſh, conſiſting of fourteen perſons.	2
One ſeventh part of the family of the parſon.	1
Three other women, labourers wives, and ſix children.	9
Ten working manufacturers or tradeſmen, ſix wives, and fourteen youths, maidens, and ſmaller children.	30
In all	66

No

No doubt, I have allowed theſe people to be much higher fed than they poſſibly could be, at the preſent rates of proviſions all over the kingdom, and indeed higher than they need be; but not better than they might be, if they were all to be proportioned and employed, as I have ſuppoſed *.

* Here I muſt take notice, that not to interrupt or embarraſs this argument, I have omitted to make any allowance for poultry or hog-meat, (which, in a great meaſure, are bred up, till their laſt fatting, on offalls of ſmall, or no account,) nor for fiſh, eggs and ſundry foreign articles of luxurious food and drink, purchaſed by our ſuperfluous manufactures, and by the wealth which our coloniſts, reſiding among us, draw hither from the lands and labour of America: but theſe articles, taken all together, I ſuppoſe to operate towards the great ſaving in our uſual annual crops of grain, over and above our conſumption; which, in the article of wheat, I have ſuppoſed to be about ſix million quarters; but I do not ſuppoſe the ſame ſurplus happens in the other ſpecies of grain; becauſe ſome of them, particularly barley, are the worſe for keeping beyond the year; and the others, being rather for cattle than for human food, are neceſſarily eat up, as their places are not ſupplied by other things, and farmers always endeavour to raiſe and keep in ſtore the greateſt quantity poſſible of wheat, as it brings the beſt price, and improves by keeping.

Is

It ſhould be the care of government to diſpoſe things in ſuch ſort, as that ſuch an uſeful diſtribution of people and employment ſhall, as it were, naturally take place: that the farmer ſhall be working to feed manufacturers, and they reciprocally to ſupply the farmer with cloaths and other neceſſaries; and the ſuperfluities of the labours of both to go to the maintenance of gentlemen, and for articles of commerce; ſo that, as a prudent farmer, inſtead of carting hay to ſell at a diſtant market, contrives to ſend it there more advantageouſly in the carcaſſes of fat cattle; in like manner, a wiſe nation would export the products of their land, not directly in cattle and corn, but in the moſt finiſhed ſtate, in broad-cloths and hard-wares.

But if any conſiderable part of the farmer's produce is exported as a raw material, or converted into ſpirituous liquor, a proportional part of this plan muſt

muſt be given up, becauſe the requiſite food for this number of people will fall ſhort; the price muſt immediately riſe; and unleſs ſuperior ſkill in huſbandry, or more fortunate crops can increaſe the products equal to the demand, the number muſt in time be leſſened, that is, ſome of the manufacturers muſt ſink under poverty and miſery, or muſt leave the land.

However, to thoſe who are of opinion that exportation and diſtillery ſhould ſtill be encouraged, becauſe they promote tillage, and enable the farmer to pay a good rent, I am ready to own, that they do promote tillage, and that the owners of land may expect their rents to be very well paid, while theſe two trades are encouraged; but then, as I ſaid before, our ſuperfluous manufacturers muſt leave the land, and the ſixty-ſix perſons maintained by the products of the two plow-lands, will moſt probably be reduced to thirty-ſix, *viz.* the ten

ten tillers as before; the gentleman-farmer and his family, the ſeventh part of the 'ſquire's family, and the ſeventh part of the parſon's family, with the three labourers wives and ſix children; making in all 29 perſons

Then for the proportion that theſe twenty-nine people may require of all manner of neceſſary tradeſmen, ſuch as ſmiths, carpenters, taylors, ſhoe-makers, &c. including their proportion of their wives and children, we ſhall allow 3

Laſtly, for the proportion of the maſter-diſtiller and exporter, and thoſe who carry on their work, as far as may relate to this farm, I think cannot be more than 4

Total 36

Now whatever may be the number of our people in old England, at this time, it is plain that (without prejudice to the rents of the land) they might, by an unbounded encouragement to exportation and diſtillery, be reduced to little more than one half, that is, from the proportion of ſixty-ſix to that of thirty-ſix. In what number of years this reduction might be made, I cannot exactly compute; but as there is room enough in North-America to hold them, and likewiſe conſidering we ſhould want to turn out none but manufacturers, whom they would have the greater need of, having hitherto none of their own; I ſuppoſe, what with our deſires to get rid of them, and theirs to receive them, we might ſhip off one hundred thouſand *per annum*; ſo that between tranſportation and ſtarving, I believe we might complete the ſcheme in about twenty years.

This

This looks ſo like jeſting, that I can purſue it no farther, for my intention is to be ſerious on ſo important a ſubject: but as this plan of trade and commerce has its advocates, it ſeemed to require a diſcuſſion; if the analyſis makes it appear ridiculous, I hope the reader will ſee that the abſurdity lies in the doctrine, and not in the method taken to expoſe it.

Continuation of SECT. VIII.

Taxes on Neceſſaries.

IT has long been the opinion of wiſe men, that all taxes, however laid, muſt finally fall on the owners or occupiers of land: For all wealth is primarily the product of land; to which labour, though for the moſt part neceſſary, is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, only an acceſſory.

The land-owner, with a certain part of his produce, can purchaſe labour ſufficient to manage the whole.

Now all mankind may be conſidered as divided into two claſſes; namely, the owners of land in one; and all the reſt, having no land, muſt be in the claſs of labourers, whether in works of the body, or of the mind or genius. But the products of the land muſt maintain them all; and therefore, whatever taxes are laid on the labourer, *his maſter, the land-owner*, muſt give him proportionally more of his produce for his work; or, otherwiſe, he cannot ſubſiſt, and pay his ſhare of the tax *.

It

* The Weſt Indians, who have the ſame property in their labourers as in their lands, lay a poll-tax on their negroes, towards defraying the charge of government, but do not expect their black labourers to pay it; well knowing, if they did, that they muſt furniſh them with the money for that purpoſe. Now their negro labourers are fed, clothed, m and aintained, with all their families, in ſickneſs and

It may be ſuggeſted, that "people who have money, acquired by former in-" duſtry, (of themſelves or anceſtors) and "being retired, placing their money in "the funds, ſhould be conſidered as a "third claſs, and one that avoids ſuch "taxes as particularly touch the land-"holders," (which is true;) "and yet "that if any taxes were to be laid di-"rectly on ſuch monies, in a free coun-"try, the conſequence to be apprehended "would be, that the creditors would "draw their money out, and quit the

and in health, and are ſuffered, by their maſters, to accumulate private property from their private induſtry: and our white labourers, of the common claſs, enjoy no more, at the beſt;———of courſe, every additional tax or charge, that falls on our labourers, muſt come out of the pocket of the Engliſh landlord, or farmer, as effectually, as it does from the Weſt Indian, to pay for his labourers: with this diſagreeable difference, that, by endeavouring to ſhift the load from ourſelves, we force it to circulate thro' the whole community, before it can directly reach us: but then, like a proteſted bill of exchange, (only much worſe) it comes upon us inflamed, with all its travelling charges, to about ten times the original ſum.

nation."

" nation."—However, this would only be practiſed by our foreign creditors, the *amor patriæ* would prevent the natives. Beſides, all taxes do (tho' indirectly) affect the funders in their ſpendings: but this ſubject will be farther diſcuſſed in a future ſection.)

I am aware that in the caſe of a beneficial maritime trade, ſome annual wealth, and conſequently maintenance for part of our *labourers in art and genius*, may be gained from foreigners; but that is only ſaying, that the extraordinary art and induſtry of one country, may make the landholders in ſome other, contribute ſomething towards their maintenance; which will not contradict the aſſertion, that the *produce of the land*, i. e. *the income of the landholders, muſt afford a maintenance to all the labourers, artiſts and manufacturers, whom they employ*, or as far as they employ them: (for, foraſmuch as they work for a people of another nation,

tion, the people of that other nation muſt pay them). Then if only a tax of three half-pence per pound is laid upon leather, the price of ſhoes (like that of tallow candles before mentioned) will be advanced amazingly, on account of the tax; and all other labourers and tradeſmen muſt be enabled to pay this advanced price of ſhoes, by each of them ſwelling the price of their labours and manufactures, one upon another, by a gradual increment which never ceaſes: ſothat the effects fall upon the landholders, in the maintenance of the labouring claſs, in ſome articles*, thirty times more than the

* A pair of ſhoes for a gentleman, or maſter tradeſman, coſt at this time, in London, from ſeven ſhillings to eight ſhillings and ſix pence; they weigh, at a medium, two-thirds of a pound; on which two-thirds, the tax, or exciſe, is but one penny; the value of the materials, including the tax, does not exceed two ſhillings; which, with one ſhilling for making, and one more for the profit of the ſhopkeeper, amounts only to four ſhillings, in the whole. Conſequently, we pay, at a medium, three ſhillings and nine pence a pair, on account of taxes in general, tho' the exciſe on the particular commodity does not amount to three half pence, ſtrictly but to one penny.

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original tax. Therefore I repeat again, that all the claſs of artiſts and labourers muſt have their final maintenance from the owners and occupiers of land, and not only an œconomical maintenance, but ſuch as their ſeveral ſtations accuſtom them to.

I will now endeavour to explain more particularly, by the help of numbers, what I advanced, in a general way, in the former part of this ſection; namely, that laying the whole load primarily on land, (if no better way can be found out) would not have, by many degrees, ſo bad an effect, in inflaming the prices of labour and neceſſaries, as when it is laid directly either on labour, or on neceſſaries.

Let us ſuppoſe the annual rents of all the lands in England and Wales (excluſive of the ground-rents of buildings) to be ſixteen millions ſterling;

ing *; and that the public neceſſity, in time of war, required ſixteen millions of pounds *per annum*, to be raiſed in taxes of all ſorts.—Lay it all on land, in the firſt inſtance; the expence of levying need be no more, proportionally, than that of the land-tax. Then we will ſuppoſe that, immediately, the rents of all the farms in the kingdom are doubled.

Let us, for an example, take one farm of 120 *l.* *per annum*, or two plow-lands, the rent of which, by being doubled, becomes 240 *l.*

But the groſs produce of ſuch a farm, on the old rent, (after paying the tythe) was about 360 *l.* to which adding the

* There are, or ought to be, in England and Wales, about three hundred thouſand plow-lands; which, at ſixty pounds *per an.* for each, would produce eighteen millions of pounds; but I moderate the ſum to ſixteen millions, which reduces the plow-lands to two hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-ſix. Having regard to this, I reduced the probable annual crop of wheat from fifteen millions of quarters to twelve millions five hundred thouſand, in SECT. VII.

new aſſeſſed ſum of 120 *l.* the farmer muſt ſell his whole crop for 480 *l.* But as 360 *l.* is to 480 *l.* ſo is 20 ſhillings to 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*; that is, he muſt now ſell for 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* what he before ſold for one pound.

Here let us obſerve, that the caſe of the retailers under exciſe, (as mentioned in the former part of this ſection) does not apply to the farmer; for the latter, including his gains by cattle and corn, cannot turn his money more than twice in the year, at moſt; nor is he ſuppoſed to pay his rent, till after he has made it from his crops: whereas the retailer, for the moſt part, pays the exciſe in advance, and can only exiſt by turning his money many times within the year.

Farther, as we have frequently known the price of wheat to fluctuate within the ſpace of two years, from twenty ſhillings a quarter to three pounds ten ſhillings; and hay, from two pounds to four

four pounds a load, and all the other products of a farm, nearly in similar proportions; it might be said, that this difference, between twenty shillings and twenty-six shillings and eight pence, or 33 *per cent.* would not be distinguished from the ordinary prices, since their usual fluctuation makes more than that difference.

But let us examine how far both the farmer and the whole community will be enabled to support this alteration, by a reduction of other taxes and excises. Candles, soap, shoes, and all articles in leather, he will have for three-fifths of the former price; no window tax, no excise on malt, hops, salt, *&c.* consequently, a reduction in the price of labour, and of all kinds of manufactures; so that if we only compute that his savings in his family expence will be two-fifths, that is, that out of 100 *l. per annum* he will save 40 *l.* and that out of 120 *l. per annum*, spent in labour, he may, by decrease in

the price of wages, ſave only one-fifth, or 24 *l.* at a moderate calculation he will ſave, at leaſt, 64 *l. per annum*; which being deducted from 480 *l.* the ſum of the ordinary amount of the groſs produce of his farm, together with the new tax of 120 *l.* the remainder, 416 *l.* is what, at an average, his groſs produce ſhould annually bring in, to ſuſtain this great land-tax, without feeling the burden: then ſtating the caſe in the ſame manner as before, *viz.* as 360 *l.* is to 416 *l.* ſo is 20 ſhillings to 23 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{3}$; it appears, that, to raiſe the immenſe ſum of ſixteen millions from the farmer, inſtead of the landlord, it will require no greater advance, on the ſale of his produce, than from 20 ſhillings to 23 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{3}$, or 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* But the farmer ſells only the rough unmanufactured products of the land, and the increment on their value in paſſing thro' the hands of middle men and manufacturers, between the farmer and the conſumer, I acknowledge to be,

at

at leaſt, twice and an half * more than what the farmer ſold them for; but ſuppoſe the improved value of all manufactures, taken at a medium, was three times that of the rough products; even then, the $15\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* which would be added to the ordinary price of rough products by the farmer (in order to raiſe the ſum of ſixteen millions,) would only be advanced to $46\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* on the conſumers; but whilſt every man in the kingdom made a ſaving of at leaſt 40 *per cent.* in his ſpendings, by the aboliſhing of other taxes, I think nobody would

* As we conſider the groſs products of a farm, excluſive of the tythe, to be three times the value of the rent of the land; of courſe, twice and a half the rough products will be ſeven and a half times the landlord's rent: and when I ſaid, in the former part of this work, that "every ſhilling the landlord added to the ordinary price of his land, would coſt him ſix in his ſpendings;" I choſe to put it ſomewhat below what it really is, for fear of ſhocking the belief of many people to whom theſe ſpeculations may appear new; but if they have patience to read and conſider them, they will find, that I generally calculate rather under than over. In the progreſs of theſe ſheets I ſhall give the foundations on which theſe calculations are raiſed.

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be hurt by ſo ſmall a contribution on their expences at $6\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* to raiſe ſuch an immenſe ſum as was never yet attempted within the year. However, if we compute the improved or laſt value of the farmer's products, when manufactured, to be but twice and an half that of the rough products; then twice and an half the $15\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* advance on the ſame, will not make quite 39 *per cent.* which would be one *per cent.* leſs than the ſavings made by the aboliſhing the exciſes, and of courſe we might, by this plan, raiſe ſixteen millions, within the year, and all our domeſtic expences be, at leaſt, one *per cent.* leſs, not only than they are now, but leſs than they would be, if the neceſſaries of life were returned to their uſual ſtandard for our times, that is, wheat at five ſhillings a buſhel, the average of meat three pence a pound, and hay at forty ſhillings, in the London market.

This

This project, of raiſing ſuch a tax from the *occupiers of farms*, could only be made practicable, by aboliſhing all the before-mentioned taxes and exciſes, and under that circumſtance, the experiment, I am perſuaded, would aſtoniſh greatly, by the unexpected advantages that would flow from it; for I believe we may venture to ſay, that the intricacy of the preſent ſyſtem of taxes has been one great cauſe why it has been ſo long upheld by props and patching, but has, at the ſame time, made it appear to be too formidable an undertaking for our miniſters, in time paſt, to attempt its amendment. There is nothing more complex, nor confounding to our imagination, than an accumulation or aggregate of the ſimpleſt ideas or things. Nothing can be more ſimple than the firſt principles and operations of arithmetic and geometry; nothing more intricate and confuſed, in the common view of mankind, than the ſimple, but frequent, repetition of thoſe ſimple operations

rations. The whole ſcience of finance depends on being able to conſider and comprehend the effect that ſhould ariſe from a repetition of a very ſimple operation; but, unfortunately, whether by chance, or by deſign, theſe operations are generally performed, or attempted to be performed, more like a child's play, than like the well-weigh'd projects of wiſe men.

Suppoſe a nation, conſiſting of about ten millions of inhabitants, and near forty millions of acres, divided into three hundred thouſand plow-lands, required for the ſupport of its government about ten millions of pounds *per annum*: is it not obvious, that either a pound a head, or 5*s.* *per acre*, or rather 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* on each plow-land, would raiſe the money at once? Now, which is the better way, if I want to take a peach from a tree? to reach it with my hand, or to retire an hundred yards from it, and pelt at it with pebbles till I can ſtrike it down; this

this whim might pleaſe a child; but ſhould not a man conſider, that he muſt, more or leſs, lacerate the tree, bruiſe the fruit, and thereby waſte as much, or more, than he uſes to profit. Yet, I am ſorry to ſay it, this ſeems to be our mode of gathering a revenue.

Whereas I have ſaid, in one part of the foregoing ſection, that a landlord cannot add a ſhilling to his rent beyond the market price of his land, without the certainty of paying ſix ſhillings, (nay, even ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence) for it in his ſpendings; and yet have afterwards propoſed, that all the rents in the kingdom might be doubled for the purpoſes of raiſing a revenue, which, ſo far from affecting the landlord in the above manner, his ſpendings would be one *per cent.* leſs than before; which paradox I ſhall endeavour here to ſolve.

It may be taken as a good general rule, that if the groſs produce of a farm, (where there's a mixture of plowing and

and grazing in the common way) be divided into ten parts; one goes for the tythe, three for the rent of the land, three for labour or expences, and three for the farmer, in conſideration of his ſtock and genius, which ſet the whole in motion *; and for this ſort of farm the ſtock or capital required is about equivalent to three years rent.

By a quotation, which biſhop Fleetwood makes from the black book in the exchequer, it appears, by deduction, that about ſix hundred and fifty years ago, a pound of wheat was, at leaſt, equivalent to three pounds of good beef; whereas, in our time, we know, that one pound

* I give this as a ſufficiently exact rule for general calculation; but in every farm of different ſoil and culture, there will be a difference in the expence: and, to come nearer the truth, we muſt count, that, in a farm of ſixty pounds a year, the expences will be about ſeventy pounds; the triple of which being two hundred and ten pounds, will allow about twenty pounds for tythe, ſixty pounds for rent, ſeventy pounds for expences, and ſixty pounds for the farmer's profit.

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of beef is, at leaſt, equivalent to three pounds of wheat.

Now I conſider a fat ox, in thoſe days, as the product of the land without labour; but wheat was the product of land and labour taken together: then, comparing theſe two commodities, we muſt conclude, that the comparative value of land was then very low, and that of labour very high; and that, probably, our iſland, at that time, bore ſome reſemblance to the modern ſtate of our northern colonies in America.

We find alſo, by deductions from other records quoted by the ſame author, that, about two hundred years later, a common labourer could pay the annual rent, of as good an acre of land, with four days work, as he could not now pay with leſs than twelve.

From this I ſuppoſe the number of people to have increaſed, the price of

land to have riſen, and that of labour, comparatively, to have fallen *.

Now if we ſuppoſe a farm in either of theſe ancient periods, its groſs product might, nevertheleſs, bear the ſame kind of diviſion; that is, after deducting the tythes, one-third for rent, one for expences or labour, the other for the farmer: but then, as the price of his land was comparatively three times leſs than ſuch land would be now; and as labour was, on the contrary, comparatively three times as high, he muſt have had fewer hands employed, and of courſe his crops, from the ſtint of culture, and want of ſkill, were much ſmaller. Now as the country has increaſed in people, the comparative price of labour has ſunk; at

* Tho' I ſay fallen, I mean only ſo when compared with land; for we know very well, to our misfortune, that the price of our labour has riſen above the general rate of labour in all the reſt of Europe, tho' making the compariſon among ourſelves, between our land and our labour, we find that our land has riſen a great deal higher, in proportion, than our labour.

the

the ſame time the farmers are become better huſbandmen, and, by employing more labour, have raiſed more cattle and products from the ſame lands; and yet, being generally contented with their third ſheaf, (according to the old rule) the landlords have found no great difficulty in gradually raiſing their rents, ſo as to come alſo at their third. But to conclude; if the landlord was to pnſh beyond this rule, as things now ſtand, the farmers muſt advance ſo as to have their ſhare, and the effect againſt the landlord, in his ſpendings, muſt be as aforeſaid; whereas, if the taxes and exciſes, that fall ſo heavy on labour, were taken off, and thrown on the land, the price of labour being thereby reduced, the farmers would naturally proceed in employing more labour in cultivation, and of courſe, by the increaſe of products, be enabled to pay the higher rent: for it is known, almoſt to a proverb, all over the kingdom, that of the three charges belonging to a farm, *viz.* rent, labour, and manure,

manure, the rent is the object of leaſt concern.

Suppoſe a farmer, between four and five hundred years ago, employed, on a certain quantity of land, two labourers, whoſe wages amounted to as much as the rent of the land; and in our days, a farmer on the ſame ground employed five labourers, whoſe wages were equal to the rent of the land. And ſuppoſe again, by a change in the mode of taxation, the ſame farmer, through the great reduction in the price of labour, tho' the rent of his land was raiſed, could afford to employ eight labourers on the ſame farm, the amount of their wages ſtill not exceeding the rent of the land; it is evident, the proportion of the rent, expences, and farmer's gains, might continue ſtill the ſame, whilſt the increaſed produce of commodities, to be expected from the increaſe of cultivation, would rather leſſen than raiſe their price at market.

From

From this reaſoning, then, as well as from the hiſtorical facts, it reſults, that when the price of labour has been high, that of land has been low; of courſe, if it be found neceſſary to raiſe the price of land, in order to derive a revenue from it, the only rational means to effect that is, to lower the price of labour: and if, by the means here pointed out, the price of labour can be lower'd, we may, moſt certainly, in conſequence thereof, raiſe the price of land, and, at the ſame time, benefit every individual in the kingdom.

SECT. IX.

Tythes.

THOUGH it cannot properly be ſaid, that the method of paying the clergy by tythes, is a direct cauſe of the preſent high price of proviſions, ſeeing this

this method has been in uſe for ſeveral centuries; yet, inaſmuch as it prevents the farther exertion of genius and induſtry in agriculture, it may well be conſidered as ſome obſtacle to their being made cheaper at this day.

The great utility of having a man of exemplary life and manners in every pariſh, to keep all his neighbours to a proper ſenſe of their duty, by pointing out to them, in all inſtances, the difference between right and wrong, and by exhorting them, in rational diſcourſes, to live ſoberly and virtuouſly among one another, is too clear to admit of the leaſt diſpute; but how injudicious is it to give them that kind of eſtate for their ſupport, that muſt, from the nature of it, frequently ſet them at variance with their pariſhioners, and operate like a tax, or fine, on improvements? Had the tythe been but the tenth part of the nett profit, it would have been free from many of the inconveniencies that now lie againſt

againſt it; but as it comprehends the tenth part of the groſs produce, there is, at preſent, nothing but the moderation of the generality of the clergy, (very few of whom exact it in kind, and many, thro' humanity, abate much of their ſtrict right) I ſay, nothing elſe could make it tolerable: for how frequently may it happen, in precarious crops, that the groſs tenth ſweeps away the whole profit? What man of genius will venture on an expenſive improvement of his ground, or method of tillage, unleſs he could tie his parſon down to a reaſonable compoſition? For example: the tythe, at preſent, on an average, amounts to one-third of the rent of the land; for, in a farm where the land is about 15 *s. per acre*, the groſs produce will be about 50 *s. per acre*; and, conſequently, the value of the tythe will be about 5 *s. per acre*. But ſuppoſe the farmer, by an exertion of his genius, and laying out more money in manure and tillage, ſhould raiſe his crops to yield 7 *l.* 10 *s. per acre*, (which in hops, or ſuch

like plantations may be done) will it not check his ardour, when he reflects, that the parſon, by this means, will come in to have a tythe out of the money that he thus laid out in his new improvement, and without the leaſt additional merit, muſt reap 10*s.* an acre extraordinary, from the farmer's new induſtry. There is nothing more certain, than that, from this conſideration, tythes are a drawback from induſtry all over the kingdom. The eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, that forbid the clergy to occupy their leiſure in agriculture, was, undoubtedly, one of the pious frauds of the dark centuries; the real intention was plainly to live idly on the labours of others: but the clergy of this nation in our days, having a more blended intereſt with the laity, are of a much more worthy caſt; and, as we think, would wiſh to ſee this contentious evil removed. And what cou'd be more eaſy, than to value all the tythable land in every pariſh to its preſent full annual worth; then, by a public tax, raiſe a fund

fund to purchaſe farms or glebes equivalent thereto; to be annexed to the livings and impropriations, and the tythes to be aboliſhed for ever?—to make them any compenſation in money, whether by ſums depoſited, or by ſtipendiary rent-charges, would be precarious and injudicious, from the great mutations that money is relatively liable to, between its real and nominal value; but the ſame piece of land can never loſe, unleſs in the caſe of depopulation, its real value, in which caſe there would certainly be no tythes. It will be more fixed than tythes; becauſe its being worked to the higheſt value will not depend on the pleaſure or caprice of the pariſhioners, as tythes do at preſent; for if the farmer grazes more and plows leſs, the value of the tythes will be conſiderably diminiſhed.

If the rents of all the lands in England and Wales are put at ſixteen millions, the tythe in kind, if they were all tythable, would amount to

5,333,333; but as ſome few ſpots are extra-parochial, we may take the round number, and ſay their full value would be about five millions; how much is to be abated from this ſum, on account of modus's and antient exemptions, I cannot pretend to eſtimate; but though the ſum ſhould remain ſo high as four millions and a half, it is certainly the intereſt of every pariſh to free themſelves from the preſent inconvenient burden.

SECT. X.

Public Funds, Increaſe of Money, and rapid Fortunes.

I NEED not enter into a long detail of what is uſeful and agreeable in the public funds; for that, like the pleaſures of debauchery, is but too well known both to miniſters and people. Among the evils that ſpring from them, I count the following:

1. That they diminiſh the number of working people, and add to the number of idlers. 2. That

2. That they obſtruct private credit.

3. That they raiſe the price of labour, and conſequently of proviſion and common neceſſaries.

4. And that they prevent the extenſion of trade and manufactures.

Towards the proof of the firſt of theſe propoſitions, I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that in general, *no man works that can maintain himſelf*, to his ſatisfaction, *in idleneſs*; and where particular inſtances may be brought, which ſeem to ſhew the contrary, it will be found, that ſuch men do finally, by their extra-work, maintain ſome one elſe in idleneſs, who muſt otherwiſe have worked.

The extention of an *imaginary fund* *, wherein people find it ſo eaſy to purchaſe

* I call it *imaginary*, in contradiſtinction to *labour and land*, which are *real funds*;—for though the validity of debts and mortgages may laſt as long

chaſe any quantity of eſtate, however ſmall, is an impolitic inducement to many perſons, of that claſs that ſhould naturally ſupply labourers and manufacturers, to endeavour at ſecuring an in-
1. come without labour; and when that income is not quite enough for their purpoſe, they too often endeavour to make up the reſt by ſharping; or, at beſt, by the exerciſe of ſome of the genteel profeſſions, by which the community is equally injured. If ſuch *imaginary funds* did not exiſt, theſe people's money muſt be laid out in *real funds*, i. e. *lands*, in theſe iſlands, or in our American colonies; either of which would invite them to induſtry, or promote it
4. in others, which would be uſeful to themſelves, and profitable to the commonwealth.

For

long as particular laws or particular religions; yet as all theſe have their foundations only in opinion, they cannot properly be called real; opinion has changed in Greece and Italy, their funds, laws, and religions are no more; but ſtill the lands and labour of thoſe countries are really and intrinſically worth a great deal.

For the ſake of a round ſum, I will ſuppoſe the annual rent of our public debts of all ſorts to be about five millions of pounds; a ſum equal to the maintenance of four hundred thouſand people, at the rate of twelve pounds ten ſhillings a head, ſuppoſing that to be the average rate of the maintenance of all the people in England and Wales. And I ſay, that ſo much of theſe five millions of fund-rents as belongs to the natives or reſidents of this kingdom, has taken proportionally ſo many people from work, as it will extend to, at the rate of twelve pounds ten ſhillings a head, and now maintains them in idleneſs. 1.

For as faſt as any man can, by the works of his genius, art, or induſtry, amaſs more money than he wants as ſtock in trade, he moſt probably lays it out, either in land, or ſtocks: But as the lands of *England proper* are very little

tle more in extent,† than they were a century ago, before the funds exiſted; of courſe, when the *enriched tradeſman* buys, his purchaſe is no acquiſition to the community, he only *diſplaces* an *old proprietor*, who either carries his money to the public funds, or pays it to his creditors, who finally place it there. For the ſecurity of the funds is eſteemed ſo good, the intereſt ſo punctually and commodiouſly paid, its rate grown ſo high ſince the greater increaſe of the debt, and upon the whole, the monies placed there, ſo free from vexations of law and taxes, that no body, unleſs uncommonly affected by friendſhip, or warped by very particular intereſts,
2. chuſes to truſt to private ſecurities, nor much leſs to lay out their money in the lands or ſecurities of America.

† The modern improvements in huſbandry, and the incloſure of commons, are equivalent, in ſome ſort, to an extenſion of our former bounds.

Now

Now the preſent national debt, or as much of it as belongs to natives, is the ſavings of private perſons, in the ſeveral claſſes of land-owners, labourers, artizans, &c. who have lent the ſame to the nation at large, and the nation at large pays the intereſt. But particulars do not contribute to this payment in equal proportions; only according as they are affected by the various taxes.

It may be ſaid, this national debt, which has been about ſeventy years accumulating, ſhews that we have been gaining ſo much by a general ballance of trade, beſides what we have laid out within the ſame time in our colonies, and whatever we may have increaſed in dead ſtock, ſuch as plate, jewels and the like, which is very conſiderable: It was quite right, and even neceſſary, that this ſuperlucration (if it was ſo) ſhould have ſome regular channel to run in; meer chance, without the leaſt genius or fore-

caſt, turned it this way,* that is, into the preſent funds; but as matters now ſtand, it does not run in the beſt channel, and it is an affair of the moſt ſerious concern, to direct it into a better. For if true genius and honeſty had ſettled a proper channel and receptacle for this ſtream, it would not be in the power of brokers, ſtock-jobbers, and gameſters, to make ſuch capricious fluctuations, ſuch irregular ebbings and flowings therein; which deep and iniquitous ſpecies of gaming, (iniquitous, as it is ſporting with other peoples fortunes) ſo often ex-

* It has been ſaid by ſome political writers, who love to aſſign artfull and deep rooted reaſons for every thing, that the firſt creation of our national debt, was a cunning device to ſecure the peace of the kingdom, after the revolution; but as the fund creditors, (who, at moſt with all their dependants, at this time, are but 400,000 ſouls,) have an intereſt, of about five millions, to be ſqueezed out of the inhabitants of the whole iſland; who muſt be, at leaſt, eleven millions more in number than the funders; I think it would be full as plauſible to ſay now, that a plan was under conſideration for diſcharging theſe creditors as ſoon as poſſible, leſt the burden of ſo great a debt ſhould become the cauſe of public diſorder.

hibits

hibits to us the ſpectacle, of the lately thriving and induſtrious tradeſman duped into beggary, and the more fortunate ſharper, who had nothing to loſe, inſulting the world with an inſolent uſe of his ſudden and ill acquired affluence.

The love of liberty ſhould be extended infinitely towards our good, but it ſhould not make us deſire to have the power of hurting ourſelves, and even working towards our ruin; but where private gains may be acquired by bringing damage to the public, we know the paſſions of particulars are not to be truſted, even tho' their underſtandings were ſufficiently enlightened to ſhew them private and public intereſt in the true proportion; but for one that has this clear view, there are thouſands that never ſee farther than their own intereſts, or what they take for ſuch, and yet have it in their power to determine againſt that of their country. In this caſe, one would imagine it was only needful to ſhew clearly what

was good, and a wiſe people would embrace it.

But I have ſaid, as much of the five millions of rent from the funds, as belongs to reſidents in England, keeps ſo many people idle, as it will maintain, at the rate of 12l. 10s. a head; and I have alſo ſaid, that the capital which produces this rent, was probably gained by trade, in the courſe of ſeventy years; but perhaps neither of theſe propoſitions are ſtrictly true, for if ſeveral of the fund creditors have other means of maintaining themſelves and ſave their income from the funds, the conſequence will be, that their ſaving will contribute to accumulate new funds, which being only on paper, will not be a mark of national gain, but will only ſhew that one part of the nation grows more and more indebted to the other. In another view, if we ſuppoſe the fund creditors to be quite an idle people that ſpend their fund income and have no other, we muſt conclude

conclude that the reſt of the nation, being their debtors, are obliged to work a little harder on that account.

To illuſtrate this, let us ſuppoſe a little community conſiſting of four A, A, A, A's, landholders, eight B, B, B's, huſbandry labourers, and twelve C, C, C's, artizans and men of genius and profeſſions; they want to raiſe a ſum for a public purpoſe concerning them all in common, and one of the claſs of C, advances the ſum required; the intereſt he receives, being ſufficient to maintain him, he quits the claſs C, and becomes an idle man of a new claſs D, the eleven C's remaining, muſt do all the work for the community that was before done by the twelve C's, therefore they muſt have twelve-pence now, for what they had but eleven-pence before, as they work harder; the claſſes A and B, who furniſhed rough materials and proviſions for the twelve C's before, furniſh the ſame quantity ſtill to the eleven C's, and muſt

1.

muſt beſides pay one 24th part more for their ſhare of intereſt on the debt, that is, half as much as requiſite to ſupport D; now as the eleven C's are only bound to furniſh the other 24th, it is evident as they gain twelve portions from the A B's, that they will be gaining annually one twenty-fourth, neat profit on the A, B's, more than their own ordinary conſumption; ſo that in two years time, if this little ſtate ſhould want to borrow another
1. ſum (or twelfth) another of the claſs C may lend it, go out of trade and be an idle D; the C's, being reduced to ten, muſt work ſtill harder, and muſt be paid in proportion to their work, that is,
3. they muſt gain 13*d.* $\frac{1}{5}$th, inſtead of 12*d.*; probably the increaſing gains of the claſs C, may induce ſome of the B's to come over to them; this will hinder the claſs C to gain ſo much more than the claſs B, but the price of labour in
3. both theſe claſſes will be raiſed, whilſt the A's muſt remain without poſſibility of relief, becauſe the A's live not by work

or

or by art, but by the rents of their lands only, and if one of the A's ſhould ſell his land, one of the D's muſt probably be the purchaſer, ſo that the number of A's and the number of D's would ſtill remain the ſame; if the A's were to raiſe their rents, (without extraordinary precaution,) the B's and C's would either raiſe proportionally their prices of labour, or perhaps, ſome of them would quit the community, either of which would add to the diſtreſs of the whole ſtate; but eſpecially the number of the B's, cannot be much diminiſhed, for proviſions and rough materials being the *ſine quâ non*, they muſt neceſſarily be ſupplied, or the whole community will ſtarve; but whilſt the claſs of idlers encreaſe, and thoſe of the workers are diminiſhed, the products of their labour muſt certainly riſe in their price; nevertheleſs the claſs C who live by their wits and more refined arts, muſt always throw the burden of their ſupport on the lands and labour of the A's and B's; and as their

1.

3.

their numbers diminiſh, the art and genius of the few will earn as much, as when they were more, ſince the demand for their productions encreaſes by their having a new ſett of cuſtomers in the idle claſs of the D's. But the A's and B's, as I ſaid before, muſt fundamentally pay all, for the A's are maſters of the land, the only real fund among them, from whence, by the induſtry of the B's, come all proviſions and rough materials; the C's have nothing to pay with, but what they earn from the A's and B's, therefore if the A's and B's were ſtrong enough in council to order that the C's ſhould pay all extra charges, they muſt firſt allow the C's to earn the means from them. But after the claſs of D's is formed, their whole income ariſing from the intereſt which the reſt of the community contracted to pay them for the ſums lent to the public, they will undoubtedly be felt as aheavy weight on the A's, B's and C's; and yet if theſe were to lay any particular load

load or ſhare of taxes on the D's, no doubt they would call it a breach of contract, and probably inſinuate that the public, after ſuch a breach, could borrow no more, for no one would truſt them. However as ſuch a contract, when well conſidered, would be found to have been, both impolitick and † unjuſt in its firſt inſtitution, by having thrown an unequal load on the induſtrious many, in favour of the idle few, who live by uſury; if the wiſdom of the A's, B's, and C's, did not find an

* A man, who, out of an hundred a year in land, receives (clear of land-tax) but eighty pounds per ann. in time of public neceſſity, ſells the ſame for two thouſand five hundred pounds; and putting it into the ſtocks, at four per cent. receives neat a hundred pounds per ann. without any deduction whatever; whilſt the perſon who ſucceeded him in the land, pays one-fifth of his income to the neceſſities of the ſtate, which the fund-creditor totally eſcapes. But would it not have been more politic and more juſt, to have levied the money wanted by any equal means, within the year; and then no part of the community could have eſeaped their ſhare of the burrhen, as the fund-creditors have long done, at the expence of their more induſtrious countrymen!

equitable way to rectify the error, neceſſity, in time, would certainly force them to uſe a violent one, which, at the worſt, could never hurt but a few comparatively, and on the contrary, be of great and laſting benefit to the whole of the community; therefore it would be the height of wiſdom in the D's to foreſee their danger, and to be themſelves the propoſers of ſome accommodating plan, to ſave them from whatever diſaſtrous accident they might otherwiſe in future be liable to.—At a firſt view, it may appear, that a people who live idly on the rent iſſuing from the funds, are as profitable to the community as thoſe who live idly on the rents of their lands; but, on examination, there will be found this remarkable difference, *viz.* That land, by art and labour, finds maintenance and occupation for above ſeven and a half times as many people as can be maintained on its rents only; whilſt the rent of the funds

funds can be improved no farther, but lies like a canker on the art and induſtry of thoſe who are raiſing and improving the products of the land.

Therefore, beſides the loſs to the commonwealth, by ſo many people as are bribed out of trade by the proſpect of an indolent income from the public funds, we ſuſtain ſtill a greater by not veſting that money in land; which, beſides paying the ſame rent as that obtained from the funds, would alſo extend to the maintenance and employment of about eight times the number of people; for as the rent of land has been ſhewn to be only three-tenths of its groſs produce, and the groſs produce but two-fifths of its final improved value; it follows, that if the five millions rent of the funds had been five millions rent of land, its ultimate produce to the public might have been £41,666,666 per ann. and conſequently 4.

would have furniſhed maintenance and
4. employment for above three millions of people.

But they muſt have bought theſe lands in America; and that is the proper reſervoir into which the ſtream of our ſuperlucration ſhould be turned. If every *man of property in England* was under ſome *political neceſſity* of having *an eſtate in America*, we could have no diſpute about rights of legiſlation or taxation; becauſe we ſhould then truly be but one people, in intereſt as well as in blood.

Had the funds never exiſted, above a hundred of thoſe millions muſt have been laid out in lands in America; the old adventurers would, from time to time, have ſold their lands, when improved into farms, to purchaſers from England, and ſhifting farther back, would have cleared up new ones for themſelves.

The

The American demand for manufactures from Old England would have encreaſed ſo faſt, that we ſhould long ſince have wanted no other market.

However, it was happy for us, that the ſpirit of adventuring, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, the bigotry, fanaticiſm, confuſion, and civil wars, that followed, all contributed to lay the foundations of our American empire, before the pernicious invention of our public funds; which gulph has ſeemed, ever ſince, to have abſorbed all other projects, and to have made us almoſt a nation of gameſters.

But, for want of a *political neceſſity* to prompt people of new acquired, or accumulated property to *poſſeſs lands in America*, all our ſuperlucration, tho' it undoubtedly ſhews the proſperity of private perſons, adds very little, in proportion to the public wealth, and in no degree, ſuch

as

as can compenſate for the ſeveral evils which it promotes; diminiſhing the number of induſtrious, and increaſing that of the idle; the wanton eagerneſs of new men * to purchaſe lands, raiſing the price without

* To the Author of a Pamphlet called Political Speculations.

SIR, *Dec.* 6, 1766.

As you ſeem to promiſe us, in your future Speculations, a chapter to explain how the public funds, increaſe of money, and rapid fortunes, tend to raiſe the prices of labour and proviſions, it may perhaps be no diſadvantage to your compoſition to accept of my ſervices in the following thoughts, which, I here tranſmit to you through the Public Advertiſer; and am,

SIR,

Your's, &c.

A. W.

It may be ſaid, that, by the preſent policy of Great Britain, the protection afforded to property, is the beſt nurſe of our liberty; but I do not ſuppoſe, that thoſe who uſe this argument mean it ſhould be extended to cover frauds. The Romans, in the zenith of their commonwealth purſued, and puniſhed ſeverely the crime of peculation, and thought their liberty in the greateſt danger, when patriotiſm was defaced by avarice, and when the peculator who enriched himſelf by betraying his truſt endeavoured, with that very wealth, which by fraud he ſtole from the public treaſure, to buy the voices of his plundered and indigent countrymen, in order to ſet himſelf above law; and then equally accuſ-

without adding any thing to the real value; the circulation of caſh, of bank notes, of India bonds, and other fund ſecurities, all at the ſame time, make money

accuſtomed to take or give the bribe, to ſtand ready on every occaſion to pervert or trample upon juſtice and the conſtitution of his country.

In ſmaller concerns between man and man, our courts of equity can interfere; for if A. finds that his father paid B. a large ſum of money, he can oblige B. to ſhew what conſideration he gave for the ſame, and where he fails, make him refund. Or if a perſon offers bank notes in payment, which notes have been ſtolen or loſt, the offerer muſt prove how he came by them, or that his fortune, and means were ſuch as he might probably be poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſum as their amount. This remedy, I ſay, in ſmall dealings, one private man can have againſt another: But when an audacious enterprizer dares to defraud the whole community, is there no public accuſer in our conſtitution? or is the bulk of the happy villainy too great to be compaſſed by our laws?

A Britiſh general at the head of his victorious army, ſtipulates with the enemy for ſome thouſand pounds, the ranſom of their town; the enemy, in breach of their honour, refuſe the payment, and have recourſe to chicane, ſaying the ranſom was beyond reaſon, and that their conſent to the contract was extorted by force; and there have been Britiſh Miniſters who, on ſuch an occaſion, with bowels of compaſſion for the poor enemy, have palliated this breach of contract before the ſenate, whilſt their own underlings were quietly left in the enjoyment of millions, de-

ney appear to be much cheaper than it really is; all theſe concurring, do moſt certainly defrauded from our own treaſury, and of courſe wrung from the vitals of our own poor.

If the ſalaries of public offices are ſo ſmall, that perquiſites muſt be winked at, why are not the ſalaries honeſtly raiſed, and all perquiſites forbid; or to what degree muſt we ſhut our eyes? Suppoſe a man not worth above one or two thouſand pounds at moſt, put, for four or five years, into an office of 500l. a year ſalary, and ſpending during the ſaid time, in his table and equipage, after the rate of 5000l. per annum. and after all, at the end of his commiſſion returns to his country with a capital of half a million! Can any body doubt how this money was acquired? Can any body be weak enough to ſuppoſe it was honeſtly got? And muſt we reſt ſatisfied, if the guardians of the public treaſure tell us, that, like dupes in a gaming-houſe, they have been outwitted for want of ſkill! Yet when ſuch peculators are called to no equitable account, can any one wonder that this country is now groaning under above 130 millions of debt!

The Admiral, the General, the Lawyer, the Phyſician, the Merchant, the Tradeſman, who, in their ſeveral callings, riſe into wealth, very ſeldom arrive at their ſummit, but by long and ſlow degrees, and by that means are moſt commonly habitual œconomiſts; ſo that their fortunes neither aſtoniſh their neighbours nor themſelves, their names and reputation gradually grow up with their eſtates, and are ſufficiently known in the world; whilſt thoſe, who, from beings of no account, and without any honeſt art, ſcience, or induſtry, make their fortnnes in the rapid

certainly raiſe the price of labour and 3.
neceſſaries.

The great and rapid fortunes acquired by the lucky events and enterprizes of war, or by commerce in the Eaſt Indies, are, for the moſt part, raiſed by perſons of that claſs, which we have juſt now marked by the letter C, and who, according to the preſent courſe of things, quitting that, muſt either go into the claſs of A, or of D; but, in either caſe,

rapid way, eager to be known and diſtinguiſhed, court the applauſe of people of faſhion, by a waſteful hoſpitality; and to win popularity with the vulgar, with an affectation of generoſity, raiſe the price of labour, ſervants wages, and common neceſſaries, by outbidding their ſoberer neighbours.

This is really an evil of no ſmall ſize, becauſe it operates ſo many different ways to the diſadvantage of the community. The legiſlature can unqueſtionably apply a remedy, whenever they think proper to call ſuch peculators to an honeſt and ſtrict account. In the reigns of K. William and Q. Anne, public plunderers ſtood ſomewhat in awe of this power; but what have we not ſeen in our days, when one of the meaneſt of the people, to compaſs a very ſmall job, bribed almoſt the whole —— with fiſh, bought with the public money! And the great Financier, who was jocularly ſaid to be paying the debts

they will increaſe the claſs of idlers in D; for, if the *new man* goes into the claſs A, he diſplaces an old A, (as that fund cannot be extended) and the purchaſe money goes finally to add to the claſs D, the fund whereof is ever extenſible while the neceſſities of government laſt, and it is during that interval only, that a number of ſuch rapid fortunes are made.

On this occaſion then it is, that the *political neceſſity* ſhould be created, of inducing *new men*, as well as all others of ambitious and enterprizing genius, to lay, what, I eſteem, would be, an unfailing found-

debts of the nation with ends of candles, did, in the midſt of his great œconomy, advance a national ſum, to pay the poſtage of John Dories from Plymouth.

However pointed ſome of theſe obſervations may appear, I declare it is not my deſign to level them at particular people, I mean only to ſhew to what a low pitch the public underſtanding and public virtue were ſunk, when ſuch ſordid and ſelfiſh conſiderations ſo feelingly effected the heads of government, at the very time that the criſis, which ſeems now ſo alarming was ſenſibly forming.

foundation of the future union, grandeur and felicity, of the Britiſh empire.

No doubt but this *political neceſſity* might be effected by many different plans; among which, ſuppoſe a law was to be made, that no peer ſhould be created in future, who was not actually poſſeſſed of the value of ten plow-lands in America, nor any commoner ſit in parliament who was not (over and above his preſent qualification) actually poſſeſſed of the value of five plow-lands in the ſame country, and that a like qualification ſhould be required in all thoſe who were to fill ſundry of the moſt lucrative and honourable offices under the crown; to which end, in the laſt ſeſſion of every parliament, it ſhould be declared, by ſhort act, what ſhould be deemed the value of a plow-land.

Or perhaps a law to the following effect might anſwer the purpoſe as well as the foregoing, or both might conſiſtent-

ly exiſt together, viz. that no perſon, being poſſeſſed of forty plow lands or upwards, in Great-Britain, ſhould be allowed to purchaſe any farther in this kingdom, until he had purchaſed or acquired to the value of ten plow lands in America and three in Ireland, and no perſon having to the value of forty plow-lands or upwards in America, ſhould extend by purchaſe any farther there, until he had acquired to the value of ſix plow-lands in Great-Britain, and three in Ireland, and that no perſon having to the value of forty plow lands or upwards in Ireland, ſhould extend by purchaſe any farther there until he had acquired to the value of ten plow lands in America, and ſix in Great Britain.

Many people, I am perſuaded, would think it a very hard injunction, to be obliged to have a part of their property lie at ſo great a diſtance; which, I admit to be true, and that it will be an objection unanſwerable to thoſe, whoſe views

views are confined to the narrow bounds of ſelf; but to others, who can extend their benevolence towards the glory and proſperity of their country, I ſhould ſay, that beſides the great addition, ſuch a law would make, to our naval power, by increaſing the ſhipping neceſſarily to be employed under ſuch a ſyſtem, we muſt alſo conſider, on the other hand, how difficult it would be, to keep ſeveral countries, (rich, populous, and lying 3000 miles aſunder,) united under one head, by any other means, than by making the ſupreme legiſlative powers, maſters of the majority of the lands in every one of them.

If ſuch a law was eſtabliſhed, the jealous reſtraints on provincial trade, would ceaſe to be neceſſary; the gains of America would be underſtood, without a doubt, to be the gains of Great-Britain; For it would be no longer the intereſt of the man who had an eſtate in Middleſex, to prevent the product of his other eſtate, in

in virginia, from coming directly to the beſt market and at the leaſt charge: Nor ſhould we be under the athanaſian neceſſity of declaring by repeated laws, that we were poſitively one and the ſame people, and in one intereſt; and at the ſame time ſeveral different people, and in ſeveral oppoſite intereſts.

END of the SECOND PART.

ERRATA in the FIRST PART.

Page 16, line 4 from the bottom, *for* whereas as if, *read*, whereas if.
Page 17, line 4 from the top, *for* thoſe which are here; I will obviate, *read*, thoſe which are. Here I will obviate.